

Ecowas At 50: Achievements and Prospects, 1975–2025

By

Dr Inwang B. Utin

**Department of History and International Studies
Akwa Ibom State University
Obio Akpa Campus**

Abstract

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was fifty years old on May 28, 2025 which marks Golden Jubilee of ECOWAS. Nigeria and Togo played significant roles in the formation of ECOWAS. This was through the efforts of General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria and his Togolese counterpart, Gnassingbé Eyadéma. ECOWAS has evolved and remain strong since its formation. ECOWAS has never experienced any setback that leads to its collapse, the organization has remained strong since its formation in 1975. The study found out that at inception the organization was mainly for economic, self-reliance and cooperation of all countries in West Africa. However, issues of security became imperative due to the prevalence of conflict in the region and the fact that economic activities cannot operates in an environment of chaos. Issues of security resulted in several reforms including the creation of the protocol on aggression in 1978, the 1981 Mutual Assistance on Defense (MAD) and finally the 1993 revised treaty of ECOWAS. These reforms have shaped the organization from an intergovernmental organization to a supranational organization. As West Africans marked and celebrate 50 years of the existence of its regional organization, the ECOWAS, this article X-rays the history, change and continuity of ECOWAS, it's challenges and prospect in the 21st century.

Keywords: ECOWAS, Community, Defence, Regional integration, protocol, prospect.

Introduction

Before 1900, when colonial rule is believed to have commenced in Africa, there were powerful empires and kingdoms in the Western Sudan. There was the Ghana Empire, Mali Empire, Songhai Empire, Kanem-Borno, Oyo Empire, Asante and several city-States and village democracies. There was sustained diplomatic intercourse between and among the above-mentioned empires and kingdoms in the region before colonial rule. During the colonial era, some regional engagements were carried out. These included the West African Currency Board, the West African Customs Union, and the Mano River Union. There was also the West African Students' Union (WASU) which used education as a springboard to fight colonial rule in West Africa.

After independence in 1960, renewed efforts to unify the people of West Africa started at the instance of the Nigerian Head of States Yakubu Gowon and Gnassingbé Eyadéma of the Republic of Togo. Efforts of the two leaders was truncated as a result of the Nigerian civil war which lasted from 1967-1970. After the civil war renewed efforts of the two leaders was rekindled in 1972. After a series of meetings, the ECOWAS was formally established on 28th May, 1975 and fifteen West African leaders signed the treaty that established the ECOWAS. May 28, 2025 marks 50 years of ECOWAS existence. This work is a celebration of ECOWAS at 50. The work analyzes the achievements of ECOWAS, challenges and the prospects of the organization in the age of globalization.

Overview of Ecowas at inception

The first concrete and concerted effort to achieve collective regional integration in the West African sub region was in November 1963. In that year, a conference on industrial integration of the West African sub region was organized, it was held in Lagos. After the Lagos conference, the next was held in Niamey, Niger Republic in October 1966. The conference was tagged "the Conference on Economic Cooperation". In 1967 another conference on collective self-reliance in West Africa was held in Accra, Ghana. In that conference, an agreement on the Articles of Association of the proposed economic community of West African States was signed. The structure of the Articles of Association also put in place an Interim Council of Ministers and tasked them with the responsibility of drafting the treaty of the proposed community of West African States. The initial meeting of the Interim Council was in Dakar, Senegal, in November 1967. The meeting concluded that the first meeting of the proposed community should take place at the level of leaders of government of the participating countries. Still in November 1967, four Heads of State of the organization of Senegalese River States met at Bamako capital of Mali. The outcome of the meeting was the intention to create a regional group that would encompass the entire West African countries. The meeting of Heads of State of all West African countries was held in Monrovia in April 1968 where a protocol to establish the West African regional organization was made public. The meeting mandated the Republic of Guinea and Nigeria to prepare priority areas of cooperation. Liberia and Senegal were also mandated to prepare a draft treaty and protocol for a custom group. The reports of the two committees were never considered by the Interim Council of Ministers.¹

Three years later in 1972, the Nigerian Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, and Gnassingbé Eyadéma of Togo renewed the efforts for the enhancement of economic cooperation in the West African. The two leaders commissioned their Ministers and officials to create a framework and the strategy to achieve regional integration in West Africa. After series of meetings, the Nigerian government and Togo agreed that:

1. The newly created economic community should cut across all language and cultural divides.
2. few objectives capable of realization of regional integration should be pursued without delay.
3. A pragmatic and flexible approach should be adopted.
4. outstanding institutions should be set up to deal with different issues and also a call for prompt attention.
5. A transparent policy should be adopted to enable all the countries in the sub region to become members of the community any time they are ready.

It should be noted that proposals on the principles mentioned above and others were later submitted by Nigeria and Togo in November 1973 at a meeting of Ministers of fifteen West African countries at Lomé, after a visit by a joint Nigerian-Togolese Ministerial delegation. The proposals were considered at another Ministerial meeting held in January 1975. The third Ministerial meeting was held in Lagos before the summit meeting to finalize the treaty which was subsequently signed by the Heads of State and plenipotentiaries representing fifteen West African countries in Lagos on 28th May, 1975². Article two of the treaty of ECOWAS contain the aims of the community. Some of the aims are listed below;

- 1) To promote cooperation and development in all fields of economic activity particularly in the fields of industry and transport, telecommunication, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its people.
- 2) For the purposes set out in the preceding paragraph and as hereinafter provided in this treaty, the community shall by stages, ensure;
 - a) the elimination as between member states of custom duties and other charges of equivalent effect in respect of the importation and exportation of goods;
 - b) abolition of quantitative and administrative restrictions on trade among the member states;
 - c) Establishment of a common custom tariff and a common commercial policy towards third countries;
 - d) abolition as between member states of the obstacles to the free movement of persons, services and capital;
 - e) the harmonization of the agricultural policies and the promotion of common projects in the member states notably in the fields of marketing, research and agro industrial enterprises.
 - f) implementation of schemes for the joint development of transport, communication, energy and other infrastructural facilities as well as the evolution of common policy in these fields.
 - g) harmonization of the economic and industrial policies of the member states and the elimination of disparities in the level of development of member states.
 - h) the harmonization required for the proper functioning of the community; of the monetary policies of member states.
 - I) the establishment of a fund for cooperation, compensation and development the treaty also included the structure or the working instrument of ECOWAS. This includes;

1) the Authority of Heads of State government: The AHSG is the ruling institution of the organization; its deliberations and agreements binds on all member countries of the community.

2) Council of Ministers; This consist of two representatives from member States and second to the Authority of Heads of State government. It makes recommendations to AHSG on matters of policy formulations and the objective is to have efficient and harmonious functioning and development of the union.

3) The Executive Secretariats; This organ has the executive secretary as the leader. The secretary runs the administration of the organization.

The 1975 treaty also referred to as the Lagos treaty was mainly concerned with economic and monetary issues. This was because the ECOWAS at inception was modeled after the European Economic Community (EEC) in which they share a common philosophy. Even though the West African sub-region remain volatile, the treaty of the organization did not mention any security, defence or political issues. It is probably argued that the tension between the Anglophone and the Francophone States made it imperative to avoid issue of security coupled with francophone countries alleged suspicion of Nigeria nursing an hegemonic ambition in the West African sub-region³.

In 1978, following the urgency to create an atmosphere of loyalty and trust in the entire sub-region resulted in the enactment of the protocol of Non-Aggression and later in 1981, the protocol on mutual assistance on Defense. The protocol on Non Aggression mandated member States to;

- a) refrain from threat or use of force or aggression against the territorial integrity or political independence of fellow member states.
- b) refrain from committing, encouraging or condoning any acts of subversion
- c) refrain from hostility or aggression against the territorial integrity or political independence of other member states;
- d) prevent residents or non-residents, foreigners from committing act of subversion against the sovereignty of other member states.
- e) Commit to the pacific settlements of disputes.

Under the 1981 protocols on mutual assistance on defense members pledged that any armed threat or aggression directed against member State shall constitute a threat or aggression against the entire community. Member states equally resolved to provide mutual aid and assistance for defense against any armed threat or aggression. These protocols were silent on what should be done if the armed threat to a member state originated within the state⁴.

The Revised Treaty

It is pertinent to look at some of the factors that led to 1993 revised Treaty. It should be noted that in the Lagos treaty, the issue of security was carefully avoided due to the volatile nature of the sub-region during the period. Also was the changing international landscape and the realities of maintaining sub regional security. It is in these regards that the Lagos Treaty needed an overhaul. The revision of the Lagos Treaty had started in 1978 and 1981 respectively with the introduction of both the protocol on Non aggression and the protocol on mutual assistance on defense.

In 1990, a Committee of Eminent Persons (CEP) was set up. The committee was chaired by former Nigerian Head of State and architect of the Lagos treaty, Yakubu Gowon. The committee was mandated to evaluate the ECOWAS treaty of 1975, identify its weaknesses and therefore propose changes that would enable the organization to function effectively like other regional organization. Some weaknesses of the treaty as identified by the CEP included;

- 1) The powers of the authority of heads of state was so ambiguous to the extent that the exact extent of its power and functions were unknown.
- 2) Compliance to decisions by member states was voluntary even the decisions of the AHSG were not binding on member states.
- 3) The executive secretariat had no real decision-making powers.

With these weaknesses identified, the committee recommended that ECOWAS should transit from an inter-governmental organization to a supra-national one. The revised Treaty was submitted to the ECOWAS summit of Heads of State held in Cotonou in July, 1993 and was adopted.⁵

The question is, what is the meaning of the concept of supra-nationality? The term refers to a decision making process in a regional integration framework that encourages sovereign member states that voluntarily established a regional organization for their common benefits, to agree to transfer/cede to or share or jointly exercise part of their sovereignty with the regional integration body, such as ECOWAS and its establish institutions, such that they can take decisions and enact laws that are directly applicable in member states and binding effect directly on both the regional community institutions, the member states and their citizens or non-states actors. The supranational arrangement ensures that;

- 1) Shared power for decision-making processes between the supranational entity and the member states are for shared responsibility in achieving the regional integration agenda/economic community objectives
- 2) Democratic participation of stakeholders in regional integration processes increases the participation of community citizens and civil society organizations and the private sector.
- 3) Upholding rule of law in exercising power, transparency in decision making and accountability of supranational entities to both member states and their citizens, shall remain paramount.

The review of the 1975 treaty reveal the inherent weaknesses in the treaty. Inter governmentalism was the bane of the 1975 Lagos treaty⁶.

Achievements and Challenges of ECOWAS

ECOWAS has been in existence for 50 years now, 1975 – 2025. As we celebrate 50 years of this organization, it is imperative to assess the successes of the organization. A cursory look at the charter of the ECOWAS indicate that the following were the main focus of the organization. Some of the high points of the initial treaty are as follows:

- 1) To promote cooperation and integration in order to raise the standard of living of its people and maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among member states, contribute to the progress and development of the African continent. Abolition of quantitative and administrative restrictions on trade, establishment of a common customs tariffs, abolition of obstacles to the free movement of persons, services and capital etc.

The focus of the Lagos treaty was mainly on trade and overall economic development of the West African sub-region. During the early 1990s, the sub-region was engulfed with conflict especially rising insurgency⁷, terrorism, uprising of rebel groups as well as military dictatorship. It was during this time that the organization shifted its activities to include security and conflict management⁸ in the area. At 50, half a century of existence, there is the need to evaluate the journey so far, achievements, and the challenges and the way forward for the organization.

The treaty of free movement of persons within the sub-region has enable people of West African descent to travel for trade and to seek useful employment within the zone. This movement are allowed only by acquisition of all the necessary travelling documents.

ECOWAS outstanding achievement is in the area of peacekeeping and peace building west Africa. The review of the 1975 treaty incorporated the various protocols on conflict resolutions such as the protocols on non-aggression, protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defense (MAD) etc. These protocols were subsumed in Article 4 of the revised ECOWAS treaty of 1993. Article 4 spelt out the following;

- i) Non-aggression between member states.
- ii) Maintenance of regional peace, stability and security through the promotion and strengthening of good neighborliness.
- iii) peaceful settlement of dispute among member states, active cooperation between countries and promotion of peaceful environment as a pre-condition for economic development.
- iv) Recognition, promotion and protection of human and people's rights.
- v) accountability, economic and Social Justice, popular participation for development.

Similarly, Article 58 of the revised Treaty encouraged member States to cooperate with the ECOWAS in establishing and maintaining appropriate mechanisms for timely prevention and resolution of intra State conflicts. To achieve peace, member States may adopt good office, conciliation, mediation and other means to peacefully resolve conflict. The Article 58 also spells out the establishment of a regional peace and security observation system and peacekeeping forces where appropriate. Additionally, and at the request of a member state, ECOWAS may provide election observers.⁹

On 10th December, 1999, at the ECOWAS heads of state meeting in Lome, Togo, signed a protocol on the mechanism for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping and security (thereafter referred to as the mechanism). The mechanism effectively replaced the Article 58 of the 1993 revised Treaty. The main objective of the 1999 "mechanism" was on prevention and management of conflict in the sub region. Also, the mechanism stipulates the deployment of a civilian and military force to maintain or restore peace within the sub-region when the need arise. In line with the above, ECOWAS could invoke the mechanism in cases of aggression in any member state or between two or more member states, if an internal conflict threatened to trigger a humanitarian disaster or pose serious threat to peace and stability in the sub-region or in case of serious violation of human right and the rule of law. Also, the mechanism can be invoked when a democratically elected government is threatened or overthrown.

The ECOWAS monitoring group (ECOMOG) was made up of several standby forces from ECOWAS states for deployment in any conflict areas. The mandate of ECOMOG included monitoring and observation, peace keeping and restoration of peace, humanitarian intervention in areas of disasters and conflict.

As stated earlier, ECOWAS recorded outstanding achievement in the area of conflict prevention and management. These were experienced in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau during the civil war. During the period, ECOWAS established the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) at the May 1990 ECOWAS summit in Banjul, at the instance of Nigeria military President Ibrahim Babangida. The decision to create the committee was backed by ECOWAS provision which states that;

"where there is a dispute, the Chairman of the authority of heads of state shall convene the other members of the committee as early as practicable and inform the members states involved in the dispute in the preparedness of the committee to initiate procedures".¹⁰

It was under these backings, that the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) heads of State established ECOMOG composed of military contingents drawn from the member States of the ECOWAS standing mediation committee. ECOMOG intervention led to a cease-fire in Liberia. Writing on the Liberian conflict and ECOMOG intervention Inwang Utin states that;

...ECOMOG operation enhanced the recaptures of Monrovia and Taylor forces were completely pushed away. The limited offensive by ECOMOG succeeded in checking the excesses of the various factions. ECOMOG enforcement yielded good result for Liberia, it forced the various factions to accept a ceasefire agreement under the supervision of ECOWAS. It prompted discussions that facilitated the setting up of a national conference for Liberia that lasted between 18th March to 20th April 1991.¹¹

The above statement indicates the efficiency of ECOWAS in maintaining peace in Liberia. The ECOMOG maintained, enforced and monitor a ceasefire, protect life and properties, maintain essential services, provide security, observe election and conduct normal policing duties.

ECOMOG was similarly deployed in the conflict in Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau. In Sierra Leone, ECOMOG with substantial external assistance ousted the rebels from Free Town and President Tejan Kabbah who was ousted was re-installed within weeks of ECOMOG's February offensive and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) retreated into the bush.

In Guinea Bissau ECOMOG also intervened in the internal crisis of the country with troops mostly from the francophone countries: Republic of Guinea and Senegal, Guinea Bissau neighbours promptly intervenes before ECOWAS ministers of Defence met and requested full ECOMOG deployment.¹²

The analysis above is evidence that ECOWAS recorded huge success in the area of conflict resolution. This was probably because of the prevalence of conflict in the region especially after the cold war era. The menace of conflict in the sub region has prompted a review of the security mechanism of the organization especially with the introduction of the mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution, peace keeping and security. The economic aspect of the sub-regional organization has not received much attention as the security aspect. A lot of protocols and other mechanisms for conflict management has been devised than those of economic matters which has been the focus and objective of the sub-regional organization.

Challenges of ECOWAS

As already identified, the treaty of Lagos primarily focused on situating the ECOWAS as an agent of integration of economic activities in order to raise the standard of living of the people of the sub region. The aim was to clear all barriers to trade and therefore promote economic integration in the sub region. The treaty clearly stated that custom duties or other charges with equivalent effect on import shall be eliminated. Quota, quantitative restrictions, and

administrative obstacles to trade among the member states shall also be removed. There was also in pipeline a plan for a common currency for the sub region. All these lofty ideas and visions were never pursued with vigour and precision.

Some of the major challenges confronting ECOWAS include non-implementation of its economic policies that would rejig trade and industrialization of the sub region. There is also the suspicion by less populated countries fearing the development of hegemonic powers in the sub region, for instance whenever Nigeria champion a course, other countries would counter, fearing Nigeria's domination over the matter. Summarizing the factors that inhibit the effectiveness of regional integration in West Africa Donatus Ojide States that...

The major constraints include inadequate infrastructures, lack of capital, goods, industries, poor inconvertibility of currencies, nationalism, conflict on the distribution of benefits, lack of policy implementation mechanism, and lack of grass root involvement. First, infrastructure is relatively primitive in west Africa. Lack of efficient transportation and communication system are major constraints or drawbacks on trade. Second, the vital industries that produce capital goods are yet to be established in west African regions. Again, the establishment of key industries that produce forwarded backwards linkages are important or essential for economic growth. Fourth on the political arena, nationalism inspires African political leaders to initiate national policies that may conflict with the goals of regional integration and the long term goal of their respective nations. The dissatisfaction among member countries over distribution of benefits of regional integration is also a barrier to cooperation. It can impede the implementation of policies agreed upon by treaties. The problem is caused by the lack of efficient policy implementation mechanism. This deficiency makes the treaties loose and non-binding, therefore if regional economic integration agreements are to be taken seriously, mechanisms that implement the regional policies need to be instituted.¹³

The above summarizes some of the challenges of regional integration in West Africa. It should be noted that developing countries usually have very lofty and unique economic plans but one of the objectives of such plans are never achieved. There are several factors that hinder ECOWAS from achieving its economic and political unification. For instance, some ECOWAS member countries are loyal to their former colonial masters. In this regard, their loyalty is divided. Some are more committed to their former colonial masters than to ECOWAS. This also affects their financial obligations to ECOWAS.

Monetary and fiscal issue is another challenge to economic activities in ECOWAS. There are about four currency blocks within the ECOWAS zone. The dollar bloc, e.g Liberia, the franc block of the francophone countries. Other countries have their own currencies. These has negative effects to free flow of goods and services, capital movement and others. The non-convertibility of these currencies has created a divide between the francophone and non-Francophone states. This has resulted in the use of convertible foreign exchange to settle financial transactions and trading matters. Also, the persistence of import and export duties and taxes on trade among member countries within ECOWAS zone has undermined the objective and purpose of ECOWAS. The upsurge of conflict in the zone has diverted attention of ECOWAS from economic integration to peace keeping and conflict resolution¹⁴. The formation of ECOWAS monitoring Group (ECOMOG) has become a major distraction from the pursuit of the main objective of ECOWAS which is economic integration. The civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Mali recently has resulted in deployment of troops to quell the crisis. This has compelled ECOWAS to divert from economic integration to security integration.

Another challenge confronting ECOWAS is the exit of some countries from the regional body. On January 29th 2025 Niger, Mali and Burkina faso announce their exit from ECOWAS. The three countries are under military rule. The three countries attribute their exit to the harsh treatment given to them by ECOWAS following military took over of government. ECOWAS however imposed very severe sanctions on the three countries which include border closure, no fly zones and asset freezes. The military authorities in those countries regarded those sanctions as inhumane and punitive accusing ECOWAS as being insensitive to the causes of the coups which included disenfranchisement of citizens by the former government. They similarly accused ECOWAS for not supporting them in their security challenges against terrorist in the area. Meanwhile the three countries have established a regional bloc known as Alliance of Sahel State (ASS). The implication for ECOWAS is that the concerted effort that is needed to fight insecurity in the region has been fragmented which may heighten instability and terrorism in the sub region¹⁵

The prospect of ECOWAS in Regional Integration

The ECOWAS since its formation has remained very formidable despite challenges. These challenges notwithstanding has shaped the organization as a pillar of integration in the sub-region. It will be a great defeat if ECOWAS fails, that means that efforts put forth by its founders will be in vain. This indeed has challenged the ECOWAS Heads of States to put all hands-on deck to protect the region and ensure that the objectives of the organization are fully implemented. The sub-region is a very large market with great human resources. These trading prospects should be harnessed and put into proper utilization for maximum benefit. The future and the prospect of ECOWAS is very bright. To achieve this, the main focus of the organization should be economic. Poverty is a major problem in the region. This can only be tackled if the economic potentials of the zone are put to proper use. To achieve this all barriers including border restriction, quota and taxes should be eliminated to enhance trading activities across borders. The region as a matter of urgency, should adopt a common **currency** for the ECOWAS zone. This would solve the challenge of convertibility of different currencies in the region, this will enhance free flow of trade across all divides in the zone. Also, all countries in the region should treat each other as brothers in the spirit of good neighborliness instead of allowing allegiance to former colonialist to undermine this unique sense of brotherhood and solidarity. In the same vein, all countries in the region whether big or small should be given high regarded without any sense of suspicion or hatred. This would promote good neighborliness and the prospect of economic integration will be achieved.

The ECOWAS parliament should be harnessed and used as a mechanism to stabilize the organization. The parliament serves as a forum for dialogue, consultation and consensus for the people of west Africa. It should meet periodically to discuss the way forward for the organization. The decisions of the parliament should be implemented by the Authority of Heads of States.

Conclusion

This research into the activities of ECOWAS fifty years ago has highlighted the historical imperatives of the organization since its inception. The article has identified areas of strength and weakness of the organization. The paper has highlighted and put forward some of areas of attention that will propel the organization into a formidable and dependable regional integration pillar in the ECOWAS zone. As West Africa basks in the euphoria of the golden jubilee of ECOWAS, it is believed that the organization will put all hands on deck to achieve its laudable objectives as contain in its charter.

Endnotes

- ¹Adebajo Adedeji, Collective Self-reliance in Developing Africa: Scope, Prospect and Problems in A. B. Akinyemi et al ed Readings and Documents on ECOWAS (Lagos: Nigeria Institute of International Affairs, 1984) xxiv- xvii
- ²Adebajo Adedeji, Collective Self-reliance in Developing Africa:Scope, Prospect and Problems...6
- ³Eric Berman, Katie Sams, Peacekeeping in Africa Capabilities and Culpability Geneva: institute for security studies 2000, 75
- ⁴Eric Berman, Katie Sams, Peacekeeping in Africa Capabilities and Culpabilities .. 80
- ⁵The Treaty, Protocol, Conventions and Supplementary acts of the Economic Community of West African Staes 1975- 2010 Abuja:Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011) 6
- ⁶Muhammed Ladan, ECOWAS Treaty and State Sovereignty: Redefining Constitutional Parameters of Nationhood A keynotes Speech delivered at the 2021 Epiphany Azinge Foundation Colloquium ABUJA:(2021) 4
- ⁷Inwang B.Utin Insurgency, Counter Insurgency and Human Right Violation in the Niger Delta *International Journal of Educational Research and Technology*, 9(3) (2018) 62-66.
- ⁸Inwang B. Utin , The Impact of Eviction in Community Conflict. *Ifiok: Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* (2022) 7, (1), 49-57.
- ⁹M. A. Vogt The Problems and Challenges of Peace making from peace keeping to peace enforcement in M. A. Vogt ed the Liberian Crisis and ECOMOG (Lagos: Gabumo Pub 1992) 156-158
- ¹⁰Eric Berman, Katie Sams, Peacekeeping in Africa Capabilities and Culpabilities .. 85
- ¹¹Inwng B. Utin Regional Security and Conflict Resolution: A Study of ECOWAS Peace Initiative in Liberia *The Calabar Historical Journal* vol. 6 No 2 December (2016) 42
- ¹²Eric Berman, Katie Sams, Peacekeeping in Africa Capabilities and Culpabilities .. 130-131
- ¹³Donatus Ojide, The Economic Community of West African States, it achievements and prospect as well as challenges for the future *The SSRN Electronic Journal* February (2012) 3-7
- ¹⁴Inwang Utin, The Implications of Contemporary Community Conflict: A case Study of Ikot Offiong and Oku Iboku Conflict in *Aksu Journal of History and Global Studies* Vol. 3 No.1 (2023)23-24
- ¹⁵Sang N, Why did Burkinafaso, Mali and Niger Leave ECOWAS, *Malawi ACE* February 19th (2025) 5 .